

[p.146]

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained  
 237 through silk. The native wild combs contain  
 no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,  
 [262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter  
 [252] method of preparation involves picking the  
 larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is  
 to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt.  
 The latter method is said to be especially tasty,  
 but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of  
 these methods very often.\*

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*  
 262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and  
 eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the  
 native bee but is a little larger and makes its  
 nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.)  
 or more. No other animal food is collected and  
 the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied  
 with every evidence of distaste.

#### USE OF MINERALS

[316] Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three  
 mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs  
 and lavas are employed for house building,  
 foundations, and fences. The materials occur  
 either in the town itself or in barrancas within  
 a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic  
 cinders are also quarried out of the sides of  
 barrancas, often within the town, and are em-  
 [491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails,  
 streets, and yards. The supply of materials  
 far exceeds demand, and the public domain  
 affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from  
 a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa  
 Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within  
 the village. Most of the rock is prised out of  
 the upper face of the quarry in large pieces,  
 which usually are broken up in the fall to the  
 foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then  
 placed in piles, which later comers will not  
 molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abund-  
 ant and anyone may help himself to these.  
 [492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on  
 burros with ropes, while small pieces may be  
 placed in nets or in pack boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used  
 [323] only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no  
 one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient sup-  
 ply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[184] \* At Sopono in La Cañada, Ramón was told that the larvae are  
 sometimes eaten raw.

[p. 276]

249 pulp is chopped. Three days later the chopped material is removed and the surface of the cavity is scratched with a rakelike implement. On the fourth day, collection of the juice begins twice daily. Each time juice is collected, the surface of the cavity is scratched with the rake-like implement. The juice is dipped out with a small pottery vessel and poured into a larger container. If the juice is to be shipped to Uruapan it is put in a 25-liter can. A good plant produces slightly more than 2 liters a day.

252 The bud of the wild agave is cooked in a round hole, 1 meter in diameter and 1 meter deep. The hole is filled with small stones to within 10 or 15 cm. of the top, and a large fire is built on top of the stones. When the fire dies down, the agave buds are thrown on it, covered with leaves of agaves and trees, and then sealed with earth. On the third day the oven is opened. The thick fleshy end of leaves of the smaller wild agave are also roasted. The season is from November to May.

Approximately 20 men in Cherán roast agave in season. They must eat sugar when the agave is cooking so that it will emerge sweet. [834] They must also abstain from sexual intercourse during the 3 days the agave is in the oven.<sup>10</sup>

245 Pears.—The most important fruit in Cherán is the pear. It is carried by traders as far as [439] Guerrero. Three types are recognized: *leche* (uérgamóte), *pardo* (†arápiti), and *t'atani* (Spanish name unknown). The only significant difference recognized is that the three types mature at different times, although some say only the uérgamóte transports well.

245 Pear trees are always grafted on a rootstock of wild crab apple, *tejocote*. (This is a sloe-  
242 like fruit which bears a marked resemblance in flavor and appearance to the true crab apple.) The *tejocote* trunk is cut with a saw and then split. A pear graft is inserted at each end of the split, sealed in with wax, and wrapped in clean cloth. It is believed the grafts will grow only in January, February, and March, but a school teacher with experimental tendencies claims to have grown them at all seasons.

[194] <sup>10</sup> Agave is of varying importance in other towns. In Angáhuau the techniques are similar. The plant is known here as *quite*; the leaves are called *titua*, the stalk or bud, *kíma*. Masticized Chilchota makes mescal. The leaves are cooked in earth ovens, macerated with clubs in cement tanks, fermented several days, then distilled. The Tarascan terminology relating to the agave and its processing survives in part.

- 241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

### DOMESTIC ANIMALS

- 231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, [194] has a fair number of turkeys.

- 231 *Cattle.*—Ownership of cattle is widespread in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

- 231 Cattle are raised for several economic uses: meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

- 234 Relatively few cows are milked, and most families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

- [462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

[p.296]

- 234 The calf is then tied nearby while the cow is milked; it is then permitted to suckle.

The cow is milked only once a day and only from June to January or February while pastures are good. Ordinarily, the cows are kept and milked in the fields. If only one or two cows are milked, they may be pastured close to the village and driven into the house yard for milking. In this case, if the owner has feed, the cow may be milked after February.

- 231 Oxen, and sometimes bulls, are used extensively for plowing. In a very few cases they also draw two-wheeled carts to bring in the harvest, although most of this is done by pack animals. Oxen are broken to the yoke after they are fully grown, but fairly young steers are sometimes yoked together in the pastures in order to accustom them to traveling together.

- 492 Animals are not bred or raised specially for beef. Cows, bulls, and steers are killed, the main consideration being the fatness of the animal. A considerable number of the animals slaughtered are oxen considered to have outlived their usefulness as draft animals. Although specially fattened for slaughter, the beef is as tough as might be expected. Calves or young animals are never slaughtered. Animals dying of disease are not eaten in Cherán but are in other towns. The hides of slaughtered cattle are valued according to prices in adjacent Mexican markets.

Although Cherán raises more than enough cattle for its own use, cattle raising is not regarded as a very satisfactory business because of the lack of pasture during the latter part of the dry season. Usually, numbers of animals die of starvation during April and May. This is true of other grazing animals also.

When not in use, cattle are ordinarily pastured in the mountains. They are visited every third day to make sure they have not been stolen and that they are getting water. They are driven down to the farm lands and allowed to graze on the cornstalks or wheat stubble during the winter. This practice not only aids the animals over part of the dry season with its scanty pasturage, but is recognized as a means of fertilizing the soil.

- [232] Little care is used in breeding, and new bulls are never brought in from outside. If a man owning a cow has no bull, he simply drives the

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent,  
 [262] sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep  
 are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early  
 summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool  
 [435] in two shearings, which sells at from \$1.00 to  
 \$1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican cur-  
 rency). Black wool brings more than white  
 (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 Goats.—Only a few goats are raised. Nor-  
 mally they are herded with the sheep and are  
 [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats  
 are milked, and the milk is made into cheese.  
 [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them  
 for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat  
 [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold  
 uncured with the hair.

231 Horses.—Although some horses are bred in  
 Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding,  
 it is said the animals deteriorate because of the  
 cold climate. Consequently, most horses are  
 imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly.  
 More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is  
 the fact that no one in Cherán understands the  
 care of horses. They are badly fed and receive  
 little protection from the weather. Stallions  
 are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and  
 [492] are little used except as riding animals, es-  
 pecially by those with numerous cattle or pack  
 animals. Riding and pack gear are the same  
 as those of the Mestizos. Although in other  
 [184] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing,  
 [241] this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor  
 [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses be-  
 [556] long to well-to-do men and primarily are indica-  
 tors of social position. Attitudes toward own-  
 ing a horse are a weak reflection of those of the  
 vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost  
 never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and  
 wheat or oat straw. Few people have any  
 [232] knowledge of treating illnesses of horses.  
 [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses  
 [552] are given names similar to those used by  
 [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse  
 [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses  
 and have a higher value. Almost all are im-  
 [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals,  
 but occasionally they are ridden or used with  
 the plow.

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and  
[237] as a treat for children.<sup>11</sup>

[243] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

*Pets.*—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

*Beliefs and ceremonies.*—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

[825] *Curing of animals.*—A few men are specialists in curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[194] <sup>11</sup> Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angahuan and Paricutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Paricutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

- 29) for visiting or receiving guests, while a great many conservative women wear it constantly. In the latter case, if they can afford it, women have two costumes, an old one for everyday, a newer one for special occasions.

[853] The complete Tarascan woman's dress consists of petticoat, skirt, blouse, apron, *rebozo* or shawl, and a number of woven belts (fig. 8). The greatest variation is in the blouse. This may be of cheap *manta* or even discarded flour sacking, in which case it merely has an opening for the head, short sleeves, 4 to 6 inches in length, and is unsewn down the sides. The open-sided blouse is often worn by nursing mothers, even though the materials are of better quality. No matter how cheap the materials, however, some design in cross-stitching is usually found about the neck opening.

Finer blouses may be of good cotton, rayon, or even silk, although cotton is the most common. The short sleeves may have a drawstring at the end to tie them closely about the arm. This gives a puffed sleeve appearance, although there is no fitting. More commonly, except in garments made for tourists, the lower end of the sleeve is finished with a crocheted band about 1 inch wide in a contrasting color. Often the lower seam of the sleeve is not carried to the body of the garment. The side seam of the latter is also often incomplete for about 2 inches below the sleeve. The opening left compensates to some extent for the lack of fitting. The neck opening is bound either by solid cross-stitching or a crocheted band similar to that on the sleeve. An extensive cross-stitched design usually gives the effect of a yoke, although front and back of the blouse are a single piece. The neck opening is tied together with two pieces of cord, a piece sewn to each side. Garments for sale may have a drawstring about the neck opening, which then is not extended down the front of the garment.

[84] Cherán women's blouses are usually plainer than those worn in other villages. The decoration is usually a dull, yellowish brown and is applied with restraint. No study of the designs was attempted, as it is hoped a general study of the Tarascan textile and garment industry will be made.

The petticoat is of white cotton cloth or *manta*. It reaches from the waist nearly to the

25/ baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

264 Eating habits show considerable variability  
262 as between families. They also change with  
184 the season and the prevailing occupations. Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later.

[556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

184  
262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled  
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

262 The following are the foods most commonly eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, *čuripo*, tamales (*kurúndas* type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *sapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (*očepos*), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*).

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tsjocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.<sup>13</sup>

#### MEAT FOODS

252 *Čuripo* is a stewed meat, almost always of  
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few gar-  
banzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.

[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year.

<sup>13</sup> Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*jocoteacastle*), is used as greens in *čuripo* and in making chile sauce (*sindurakus*). La Cañada Tarascans may mulberry leaves (?) *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

[p.56b]

La Cañada Tarascons

- 262 Boiled broadbeans  
 511 Tortillas  
 556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*  
 Fried herbs with chile sauce  
 Tortillas  
 Boiled broadbeans  
 Boiled beans  
 -Tortillas

Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)—Possibly because Capaeuaro is a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (*kuašanda*), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (*kuinikes*), deer, gophers (*khumás*), wood rats (*heyáki*), peccary, jackrabbits (*ápácis*), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (*talpanal*), fresh water crawfish (*čapus*), wild crab apple worms (*kauaš*), and *tlacuache* (*takuache*). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

[264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, *atole nurite* and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de *čápata*, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (*čápata*; the plant is *puári*), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

*Ičuskata*, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

*Yurúričuskatas*, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (*harípukata*), eaten frequently at meals.

[p.57a]

- 194 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater  
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

- [264] In Angáhuán, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

- [251] The beef broth (šurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuán, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

- [196] The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

- [252] Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black maize (širáns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

- 272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town  
184 produces enough cheese for export.

- [273] *Agua miel* is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is "*tepache*" (šarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.<sup>20</sup> It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

- 262 Men working in the fields or woods often  
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and  
252 toast by a fire. This is called "*esquite*" (guaníto). They also carry "*esquite*" from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

<sup>20</sup> In Oaxaca, "*tepache*" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "lightly" alcoholic.

184 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like  
261 maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood  
ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

782 A special "bread" of maize is used as an offer-  
ing at the house altar. This is made of maize  
532 toquera (halfway between green and mature  
corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped.  
It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened  
by placing it on embers. This bread is never  
eaten but is hung from strings in front of the  
altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both  
with and without horns, crescent moons, and,  
most interesting of all, hearts represented in  
pre-Hispanic style.

184 In Paricutin a few divergences may be noted.  
262 Most people eat atole flavored with nurite,  
without sugar, salt, or chile every morning.  
The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The  
diet of many poor people consists almost wholly  
of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is  
spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas*."

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized  
*cabecera* for Angáhuán and Paricutin, the  
favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender  
green maize, seasoned with green chile and an  
herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green  
with ground squash leaves. This atole is made  
especially during Holy Week. (Because of the  
lower elevations, the region of San Juan has  
green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran  
is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque,  
[273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the  
rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is  
drunk also.

## EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town  
to town. In Cherán food is served on tables  
only on special occasions by the more sophisti-  
cated, especially when an outsider is present.  
Usually, the persons being served sit on low  
stools or benches, holding the main dish in their  
hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods  
or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes  
on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is pri-  
marily due to the necessity of constantly warm-  
ing or cooking tortillas rather than to any  
feeling of propriety. If there be more than  
one woman in the household, one or more may  
begin to eat with the men after the rush of

264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of *čurípo*. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served  
264 [text continues on top of p.58b]

## ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacturing processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-  
[text continues on middle of p.58b]

184 first, then the men, and then the married  
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota  
men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the  
women. However, they always turn the tor-  
tillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the  
tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

262 Changes in food habits at Cherán probably  
178 have been marked in recent years. Old people  
say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage  
and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that  
people could not eat it. Although the change  
in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the  
entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale  
migration from Cherán to other places had  
much to do with the change. Although it is  
difficult to point out specific changes without  
comparative data from conservative towns, the  
major differences seem to be the displacement  
of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta  
foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks,  
cookies, and other manufactured foods are also  
becoming more common.

## ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated  
in terms of the money values of the goods or  
services involved.

437 The fact that Tarascan economy is a money  
177 economy signifies more than ease in the study  
of exchange; it also indicates at once that  
Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that  
term is usually understood. Actually Tara-  
scan economics, like the rest of Tarascan cul-  
ture, is strongly influenced by European cul-  
ture. It does not necessarily follow, however,  
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive.  
The long period of assimilation and reintegration  
that characterized all of Tarascan culture  
occurred also in the economic field, and the  
result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan  
culture is more European in origin than is that  
of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover,  
especially in recent years, the economy of the  
outside world has impinged increasingly upon  
the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were indi-  
viduals whose livelihood had been seriously  
affected by the outbreak of war and who, fur-  
thermore, were quite aware of their relation-  
ship to world markets.

243 In the case of the farmer who slaves at pro-  
 433 ducing a scanty crop on submarginal land,  
 461 similar considerations are important. The  
 farmer does not count interest and wages; the  
 measure of his effort is maize in the storehouse  
 to feed his wife and children. It is useless to  
 point out that he could earn enough wages for  
 the same amount of labor to buy two or three  
 times as much maize as he can produce, for he  
 will not be convinced.

243 Even in the case of the average or somewhat  
 433 better than average case cited in detail, the  
 433 calculations made on the basis of our economic  
 433 viewpoints are relatively valueless. Profits, in-  
 terest, depreciation, and wages do not enter  
 into the farmer's calculation (with the excep-  
 tion of a few large farmers). Rather would  
 the typical farmer calculate that the maize  
 obtained in this case would, with a family of  
 not over five, feed the family for a year by  
 exercising due care. If he had two pieces,  
 each of a hectare or a little more in area, in two  
 locations to plant alternate years, he could  
 count with some security on feeding his family.  
 If, in addition, he had a bit of wheatland, he  
 would probably sell enough wheat to meet the  
 essential cash outlays for his family. Any in-  
 come from livestock, work in the forest, or as  
 a hired laborer would then go into essentially  
 luxury spending or savings to buy more land.  
 It is wheat that is a money crop, it should be  
 noted, and not maize. Only the wealthy sell  
 maize, and only the poor or improvident buy it.

● 184 In case maize is raised for sale on any scale,  
 433 however, the farmer encounters new market-  
 433 ing problems. The local market prefers yellow  
 243 maize, as does Mestizo Purépero. Uruapan,  
 on the other hand, prefers white maize, while  
 the Lake Pátzcuaro region desires pink, red, or  
 mixed color maize. As prices may vary in the  
 different major markets, the farmer's income  
 may be affected by the color of maize he has  
 grown.

243 From the statements given above it should  
 433 not be concluded that the idea of a return for  
 427 land ownership, i.e., a return upon the capital  
 investment, is lacking in Cherán. It exists,  
 but it is colored by the local attitudes. Thus,  
 farmers with more land than they can con-  
 veniently cultivate, storekeepers owning land,  
 and various others may rent land on a share-

[p.85a]

Sierra Tarascan

Mestizo

511 spent on meat. Families not regarded as poor might spend as little as 60 centavos a day on food for a family of six (two adults and four children). Checked in several ways, although obviously the quantitative data are inadequate, it appears that most prosperous (but not wealthy) families with sufficient land to produce all their own maize may spend less than 1 peso a day. It is estimated by some that this amount also includes the cost of all clothing and some maintenance of buildings but would not include special expenses, such as replacing animals, giving fiestas, holding funerals, etc. Frankly, this seems hard to believe.<sup>23</sup>

An approach to consumption (in terms of peso values), based on such quantitative data as it was possible to collect, indicates a much higher consumption rate for the normal Cherán family. Taking, for convenience, a family of five, the following seems a reasonably close approximation of consumption and expenditure:

| Home-produced goods consumed: | Per day     | Per year |
|-------------------------------|-------------|----------|
| Maize, 2½ liters daily.....   | \$0.15..... | \$54.75  |
| Vegetables and fruit.....     | .10.....    | 36.50    |
| Firewood.....                 | .08.....    | 29.20    |
| Total value .....             |             | \$120.45 |

#### Goods requiring cash expenditure:

|                                                                                                                       |                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Expenditures at store and                                                                                             |                     |
| butcher shop .....                                                                                                    | \$1.00.....\$365.00 |
| Man's clothing (a rough estimate of minimum requirements for work clothing plus some "dress" clothing) .....          | 27.00               |
| Woman's clothing (one typical woman's outfit of Tarascan type clothing, plus a couple of cotton dresses a year) ..... | 60.00               |
| Clothing for 3 small children .....                                                                                   | 15.00               |

Total cash expenditure a year ..... 467.00

Total value of goods consumed a year \$587.45

#### In addition to the above ordinary expendi-

<sup>23</sup> In Mestizo Chilichota, Rapún collected the following data: For a family of two adults and four children, 6 to 23 years, food expenditures were said to be 75 centavos to 1 peso daily, mostly for meat, the remainder for beans, lard, pich pine, chiles, tomatoes, salt, lime, and other things. The maize consumed is grown. Another family of four adults and one child of 5 years spent about a peso a day. Another family of four adults and three children, 8 to 14 years, spent a peso to a peso and a half daily. In all cases the major expenditure was said to be for meat, with beans coming second. All grew their own maize. Unlike those in Cherán, all these families consumed coffee once and sometimes twice a day.

[84]

[27]

863 sions of the town. This feature will be discussed later.

633 A larger subdivision than the block is  
103 furnished by the *barrio* as indicated in maps 4 and 5. These divisions function in relation to elections, office holding, and certain municipal and ceremonial obligations. *Barrio* No. I is to the northwest and is known as Jalúcutin, or in Hispanicized form Urúcutin. This name is said to mean "something on edge" or "something in a small corner," apparently referring either to its position on the edge of the largest *barranca* or its position against the small hill on the northeast edge of town. *Barrio* No. II is called "Keiku," "down," or the lower *barrio* (*barrio de abajo*), and is the southwest *barrio*. The southeast *barrio*, No. III, is "Kalákua," "up," the upper *barrio* (*barrio de arriba*). *Barrios* II and III are usually known by their Spanish terms, and not everyone knows the Tarascan names. The fourth *barrio* is Paricutin. This means "to pass to the other side" and refers to the position of the *barrio* on the other side of a *barranca*.

633 The *barrios* show very few differences.  
184 Paricutin is less populated, has larger lots, and is said formerly to have been more isolated and backward, with fewer people speaking Spanish. The staff of the investigation all had the impression that this is still true to some extent, although little concrete evidence could be secured. Certainly, as the staff can well attest, [231] the dogs of Paricutin are far less socialized than those of the remainder of the town.

633 Membership in the *barrio* is based entirely on residence. Property owners who reside in another *barrio* have *barrio* obligations only in the place of residence. There is no rivalry between *barrios* nor any instances in which *barrios* act as units on their own initiative. All the functions of the *barrio* appear to be derived from the *municipio*. There is no evidence whatever that the *barrio* has anything to do with regulating marriage or other social relationships. Even *barrio* chapels are lacking. In all probability the subdivisions are of Spanish origin and the only reason for suspecting otherwise lies in the mention of *barrios* by early Spanish writers in nearby areas.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, as Silvio Zavala has shown fairly convincingly, Bishop Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán and great

565 once he understood the words, in classifying  
 571 the people he knew in these categories. The  
 185 second major division is a relatively new one,  
 that between the *cabildo* or *añes* in charge of the  
 church *mayordomías* and their followers, and  
 those who oppose this group. The details of  
 this dispute will be given later. Other classi-  
 fications are essentially those of kinship and the  
*compadrazgo* system.

### KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in  
 Cherán, with very little difference from  
 standard Mexican usage. Many of the Taras-  
 [184] can terms have been forgotten entirely. The  
 few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely  
 used and no one person knows all these. The  
 terminology secured was obtained by getting  
 several genealogies. After these had been com-  
 pared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several  
 weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which  
 he added several Tarascan terms, most of which  
 are used with the same meaning as the more  
 commonly employed Spanish term. In the  
 charts of the terminology, both terms are given.  
 In a few instances, different terms are em-  
 ployed in the vocative and in indirect discourse.  
 In this case, the vocative term is indicated by  
 (†). The Cherán Tarascans have very little  
 interest in kinship and the data are presented  
 with little confidence in their significance (figs.  
 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).



FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionally called *popá*; this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)<sup>2</sup> is extended to the brothers and

<sup>2</sup> The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the  
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the  
other markets.

796 The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-  
tion of the Virgin is considered a large and  
important one. Services are held in the church  
at Cherán on this day, and the date is also  
observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in  
Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo.  
Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are  
purchased, together with the containers, as  
offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said  
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that  
when He eats He smells the smoke. For this  
reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers  
when copal is burning.

796 The only town visited where no fiestas or  
184 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All  
the fiestas in this town had formerly been given  
by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took  
their duties so seriously that many sold their  
lands in order to give the *mayordomías* prop-  
erly. As a result, a few wealthy people came  
to own all the land. When the revolution came,  
the town became a supporter of Zapata and  
later an agrarian town. After the revolution  
the lands were seized and divided up and the  
*mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The  
church, which was burned down during the  
revolution along with the rest of the village, has  
never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious  
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is  
celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The  
town is planning to have its own band. What  
the effects of this will be cannot be determined,  
but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in  
other towns it may serve as the entering wedge  
for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town,  
Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They  
afford interesting comparative material.

#### MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán  
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not  
at all connected with the church. Each of  
these saints is in charge of an individual known  
as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or  
more and is associated with special procedures

585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

[178] This group included the men and the women who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

[184] The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

[605] The following day the male first cousins took atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

[587] The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

769 people hid them when the priest approached,  
782 placing them out again when he moved on.  
The *rezadores* continued, but kept unobtrusive  
in another part of the graveyard from the  
section where the priest was functioning.  
Most people had both priest and *rezador*.

769 About noon or shortly afterward most people  
eat lunch consisting of *nákatamales*, bread, and  
fruit. Friends and acquaintances who stop  
[579] to chat are usually given two tamales, which  
they eat at the time. After 3 or 4 hours at the  
[text continues on top of p. 210b]

### CONCLUSION AND FURTHER PROBLEMS

121 Of immediate concern in dealing with a group  
as large as the Tarascans is the question  
184 whether Cherán is adequately representative  
of the group as a whole. Certainly Cherán is  
not typical in its size and this difference alone  
makes it probable that it is not entirely repre-  
sentative of other Tarascan towns. A complete  
answer to the question raised must await more  
extensive investigation, but the staff of the  
present study visited or investigated enough  
other communities to indicate that, in a broad  
sense, Cherán is probably fairly typical. From  
a narrower viewpoint it is certain that many de-  
tailed differences exist. Strong indications also  
exist that there are some regional differences  
which have already been mentioned. The vil-  
lages about Lake Pátzcuaro, through their partial  
dependence upon fishing and closer contacts with  
Mestizo culture, necessarily must be somewhat  
different. The villages about La Cañada like-  
wise seem distinguishable as a group. Prob-  
ably the Sierra communities may be set apart  
as a regional unit, although it is possible that  
the Sierra group may ultimately be found to  
consist of two or more sections. Finally, a  
number of marginal towns assimilated to some  
degree into Mestizo culture present special  
problems.

121 Final resolution of the question raised seems  
to call for at least two further steps in the study  
of the Tarascans. First, at least two or three  
additional community studies are needed, one  
in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, and another in  
La Cañada. Very probably another Sierra  
town should also be studied, preferably one at  
considerable distance from Cherán and with a  
[text continues on middle of p. 210b]

[P 2158]

Sierra Tarascans

La Canrada

252 Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned  
262 entrails, together with other visceral parts of  
237 the animal, which have been cut into small  
pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point  
the mixture is cooked. By the time the product  
is sold, the blood has solidified. The purchasers  
remove the mixture from the casings, mill it  
on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns  
as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most  
bread, however, is brought from the larger  
neighboring town of Tangancicuaro.

## APPENDIX 2

## ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

|     | Office                                       | Barrio                                                |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 796 | Mayordomo of the patron saint,               |                                                       |
| 624 | Santiago .....                               | One year from San<br>Juan, the next<br>from San Pedro |
|     | Carguero of San Roque or                     |                                                       |
|     | Karačakape .....                             | Barrio of San Juan                                    |
|     | Carguero of San Nicolás .....                | Barrio of San Pedro                                   |
|     | Two vaqueros .....                           | One from each barrio                                  |
|     | Four roseras <sup>1</sup> or uñančatis ..... | Two from each barrio                                  |
|     | Two regidores .....                          | One from each barrio                                  |

<sup>1</sup> One of the roseras is called *pondomari*, and one *capitancero*.  
They are always of different barrios, the positions alternating from  
one barrio to the other each year.

All these individuals are called *cargueros*.  
It is they who bear the expense of all religious  
festivals.

● [184] Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms  
a hierarchy through which individuals pass,  
ultimately to become one of the *viejos princi-  
pales* (principal old men) or *tarépití*. The  
sequence is as given, the first position being  
that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayor-  
domo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San  
Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the  
*carguero's* barrio, then *vaquero* (while female  
members of his family serve as *roseras*), and  
finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an  
"old man," a principal. The old men and the  
*cargueros* who have occupied the positions of  
both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo*  
of Santiago form the group known as the  
*cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there  
are a number of minor positions, the most

463 specialists. The situation in other Sierra towns is similar. In the Lake region as well, nearly every one can make adobes and erect a house of sorts, but good work requires a specialist.

000 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually em-

#### PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 No complete survey of construction types has yet been made but some general data are available.

184 It is clear that many fundamental features of the architecture extend through not only large areas of the Tarascan country but also into adjoining regions settled by Mestizos. The type of masonry construction with tile or shake roofs and wide overhanging eaves extends far beyond the limits of Tarascan settlement, and the wide eaves are characteristic of even such a town as Morelia, the State capital. In general, the higher, more heavily forested areas from at least as far west as Tingüindin to near Morelia show a predominance of wooden construction, usually with shake roofs. The lower and, in some instances, drier regions show a predominance of masonry-adobe structures with tile roofs and wide eaves. In some cases, shakes replace tile as roofing material. Distribution of the wide-eaved masonry-adobe style extends beyond the present Tarascan boundaries. It ends sharply west of Zamora, and it disappears east of Morelia.

The following tabulation shows the present

[p. 21a]

335 In the Sierra, a master carpenter is usually  
 465 employed on a contract basis. Often the carpenter  
 employs a helper. In addition to their pay, the  
 carpenter and helper are given their food. Adobe  
 or stone structures are also built under contract,  
 but in this case the workmen are not fed.

# PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

341 known distribution of types within Tarascan  
 184 boundaries:

| <i>Mostly wood</i> | <i>Mostly masonry-adobe</i> | <i>All masonry-adobe</i> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ahuirán            | Cuanajo                     | Cucuchucho               |
| Angahuan           | La Cañada (all towns)       | Huecorio                 |
| Arantepakua        |                             | Ihuatzio                 |
| Aranza             | Puscuaro *                  | Janicho                  |
| Capacuaro          | Tarecuto                    | Jaricuaro *              |
| Charapan           | Uruapan *                   | Naranja                  |
| Cherán             | Zacápu *                    | Pareo                    |
| Cocucho            | Zamora *                    | Pátacuaro *              |
| Corupo             |                             | Quiroga                  |
| Nahuatsen          |                             | Santa Fé                 |
| Nurió              |                             | Tarejero                 |
| Paracho            |                             | Tecuena                  |
| Parangaricutiro    |                             | Tirindaro                |
| Parícutin          |                             | Tsentsénhuaro            |
| Patamban           |                             | Tsurumútaró              |
| Pomacuacán         |                             | Yunúán                   |
| Quinseo            |                             |                          |
| San Felipe         |                             |                          |
| San Lorenzo        |                             |                          |
| Sevina             |                             |                          |
| Tueutacato         |                             |                          |
| Tingüindin         |                             |                          |
| Urapicho           |                             |                          |
| Ziroeto            |                             |                          |

\* Indicates Mexican towns showing influence of styles.

\* Indicates shake roofs common.

[p.21b]

352 are spread out for sleeping. The women sit on  
 516 the ground in kneeling position; the men either  
 sit on their heels or on low wooden benches  
 (buritu) or low chairs (uašínakua). In Parí-  
 [532] cutin, Ihuatzio, and some other towns, the  
 benches are carved in zoomorphic forms. Hang-  
 ing from the roof may be a shingle or small  
 board on which to place small objects (sársu,  
 zarzo). One or more wooden hooks (tixipatara-  
 kua) may hang from the ceiling. These and  
 other items are illustrated in figures 16 and 17.

415 Usually outside the house there is one or more  
 wooden troughs used for water storage (fig. 18).

352 In the Lake region, the furniture is similar, but  
 342 the clear-cut distinction in the use of structures is  
 184 lacking. Often one room serves all purposes.

354 If a separate kitchen exists, it may be just a lean-  
 to against a wall of the house, open, or with  
 adobe walls. The use of the raised fireplace,

[Continued on p. 246]

## ECONOMICS OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE THE LOT

435 Lot prices vary considerably in Cherán. At  
 the present time, the tendency is to sell lots by  
 front footage in the central area, but square  
 meters (39.3 in.<sup>2</sup>) are sometimes used as a base  
 for prices also. In the case of lower-priced lots,  
 probably the price is not set in terms of any  
 specific area or frontage, but is the subject of  
 discussion and ultimate agreement. In general,  
 lots (without buildings) which front on the main  
 street were valued in 1940 at 25 pesos a meter  
 (39.3 in.). On the outskirts of the town prices  
 were about 10 to 12 pesos a meter (39.3 in.).

### WOODEN HOUSES

#### COST OF MATERIALS

342 The following tabulation presents the cost of  
 435 those materials which ordinarily are purchased  
 according to various estimates. Variations in  
 price are partly due to differences in size and  
 quality, partly to the bargaining skill of the buyer,  
 partly to the need of the vender to sell.

| Pine planks, per doz., f. o. b. <sup>1</sup>                            | Price in pesos |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Seven-eighths (6.44-m.) planks 15 inches wide,<br>3 inches thick, dozen | 6.00           |
| Range of other estimates                                                | 7.00-9.00      |
| Delivery charge, heavy planks, per dozen                                | 7.00           |

<sup>1</sup> Price is about the same for 1-inch planks, which are shorter and must be  
 sawed, and long 3-inch planks, which are adzed.

362 could be established, however, in which case the number of inadequately housed persons could be calculated from the data given.

362 Little comparative information is available on the subject of house use. In a number of areas where masonry-adobe structures predominate, however, it is apparent that the kitchen is not

[continued on p. 306]

## CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE CEREMONIES

342 Two ceremonial activities are common in connection with Cherán house construction. One is extremely simple; it consists of placing a cord, on which are tied several small bunches of flowers, over every door and window of the structure as the frame and lintel are completed. No particular beliefs connected with this could be discovered, but it is almost always done.

The second ceremonial event in connection with house building occurs when the shakes are placed on the roof. For such an event, called "combate," there is usually a sizeable fiesta, and most of the relatives of the owner come. Close relatives may also aid in the cost of the ceremony. In addition, the master builder and a corps of assistants attend the ceremony. It is virtually impossible to complete a house without holding this ceremony. In one case, an informant did not wish to give the ceremony (this occurred while working for the survey on which this paper is based), but first a cousin offered to supply the music for the fiesta, and then an uncle offered to supply the atole. Both insisted on knowing the date of the fiesta, and eventually the informant felt he had to hold it.

342 On the eve of the ceremony, the house owner takes about three packages of cigarettes and a box of matches to the master builder. With these, the builder invites his friends and relatives. 431 If they accept an offered cigarette, they are obligated to appear to help finish the roof. The master builder, however, is obligated to respond to a similar invitation. These helpers nail on the shakes; the relatives of the house owner may assist in handing up the shakes and other needed materials, but they do not assist in the nailing. 476

All the relatives of the house owner are invited

[p. 30 a]

262 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be  
 184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections.  
 How far this is a function of the type of archi-  
 tecture and how far it is due to climatic condi-  
 tions remains to be established. In general, the  
 Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the  
 kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

#### CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARAS- CAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When  
 431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife  
 476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos,  
 which is regarded as the equivalent of the package  
 of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes  
 to the man of the house, the women to the wife.  
 [576] The man salutes those who make this present,  
 tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women  
 also shake hands and curtsy. The women help  
 in the preparation of food, while the men help  
 the master builder and his assistants with the  
 roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*  
 264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals  
 476 among those working. When the work is com-  
 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They  
 are all seated on two logs facing one another.  
 Male relatives of the house owner assist in serv-  
 ing; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a  
 particularly good friend of the householder. The  
 women eat in a group near the fires where cooking  
 [262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial  
 food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage  
 (*čurpu*), and tamales (*kurúnda*).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house  
 and shortly afterward returns with his wife and  
 other immediate members of his family. They  
 are seated on a mat facing the new house and are  
 fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated  
 [531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the  
 ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house  
 against violent storms and the devil.<sup>6</sup> The house

<sup>6</sup> Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priest's presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.

574 with whom especially friendly relations exist, nor-  
609 mally the visitor is not invited into the house  
yard. Conversation takes place at the gate of  
the yard; if it bids fair to be protracted, the  
householder may even step into the street and  
continue the conversation there, closing the gate  
behind him.

351 So far as is known, customs in other mountain  
574 towns are similar in all respects except for the  
184 attitude toward visitors. In most towns fences  
are rarer than in Cherán, and the visitor is invited  
to enter. In Sevina, it is customary for the visitor  
to push open the gate, pass into the middle of the  
house yard, and then announce himself. Two  
Cherán men who accompanied Beals to Sevina,  
commented at length on this difference; they were  
quite plainly shocked at the custom.

#### RELATION OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

362 The major insect pests are fleas. In some vil-  
136 lages there are also bedbugs. There seems little  
to choose between the various types of structures,  
although the earthen floor of the kitchen faci-  
litates the activities of fleas. At certain seasons of  
the year, all Tarascan houses swarm with fleas to  
such an extent that the residents often cannot get  
a satisfactory night's sleep.

Apparently, the climatic conditions are not  
propitious for large numbers of houseflies or  
related species. Those that do exist, however,  
have free access into houses. Mosquitoes and  
other noxious insects are unknown at Cherán.

362 In the lack of good medical statistics, it is  
164 impossible to estimate the relation between health  
and housing conditions. Fleas may be respon-  
sible for the transmission of some cases of typhus  
and perhaps other diseases. Relative to most  
places in Mexico, however, insect-borne disease  
is probably at a minimum. Head lice and, to  
[515] some extent, body lice occur, despite thorough  
weekly baths, and the crowded living and sleeping  
conditions in the kitchen must facilitate trans-  
mission of the insects.

The most serious health hazards of the Tarascan  
house probably lie in the damp condition much of  
the year, lack of ventilation, and close crowding  
of the inmates, especially at night. These con-  
ditions facilitate the spread of all diseases trans-

362 mitted by contact and particularly respiratory  
164 and pulmonary infections. Although data are  
lacking, a high incidence of tuberculosis is sus-  
pected. There seems little to choose between  
various house types for health.

#### COMPARATIVE DATA

184 Most Sierra towns, on superficial acquaintance,  
362 seem to have similar conditions. Local varia-  
tions, of course, occur as the result of differences in  
rainfall and temperature (functions of location  
and altitude) and the number of animals kept  
(causing variations in the number of flies).

[Continued on p. 33 b]

#### HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 In this section we try to determine the antiquity  
173 of modern house types. We do not include all  
the data found in early sources referring to pre-  
Spanish houses and house uses, but base our  
study of the history of the Tarascan house on  
modern tradition and especially on the writings  
of the 16th century. Traditions appear to supply  
useful data concerning the last century or so.  
The houses of stone and adobe are usually con-  
sidered to be relatively recent introductions in  
the Sierra region, but of older use in the Lake  
area.<sup>1</sup> This view is supported by the relatively  
greater frequency of stone and adobe in the towns  
showing most Mestizo influence. In the Lake  
region, it is remembered that wooden structures  
once were more frequent. In La Cañada, at  
Chilchota, the lack of adequate streets is referred  
to the older custom of building houses in the  
center of the lot.

Among the variant wooden-house types dis-  
cussed, kitchens of poles and "trojes" and the  
trója kosina of logs are regarded as the oldest  
types. Tools, until recently were limited to the  
ax, adze, chisel, and awl. Shakes were fastened  
with wooden pins or stones.

Beyond a century, however, tradition is of no  
value. The pre-Hispanic Tarascans and those of  
a few generations ago are merged into "los ante-  
pasados" and, unless an historically known event  
is referred to, it is difficult to know to what  
period a tradition refers. So, even if data on

<sup>1</sup> This section is almost entirely the work of Pedro Carrasco.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection, it should be recalled that the Sierra uses the Spanish  
word *adobe*, while in the Lake area a native word (*isurukata*) is known.

362 In lower and drier areas such as La Cañada,  
 184 where different house types occur, information is  
 inadequate to make any useful comparison.  
 Masonry-adobe structures are probably less damp,  
 but flies are more numerous. In the Lake region,  
 there are also mosquitoes, apparently including  
 those of the *Anopheles* genus. Dr. D. F. Rubén  
 de la Borbolla tells us that in Tzintzutzan on Lake  
 Pátzcuaro he suspects the population to be 100  
 percent infected with malaria. The cause of this,  
 naturally, is only to a very slight extent related to  
 housing conditions, although screening of sleeping  
 quarters no doubt would somewhat lower the  
 chances of infection.

#### HISTORY OF THE TARASCAN HOUSE<sup>7</sup>

342 houses of the *antepasados* were given, they would  
 [173] be untrustworthy.

Some of the data available from the 16th  
 342 century refer to a wider area than that covered  
 127 by this study. These include the "Relaciones  
 geográficas"<sup>9</sup> of the 16th century and the diction-  
 ary of Gilberti.<sup>10</sup> The "Relación de Michoacán,"  
 on the other hand, refers only to events occurring  
 about Lake Pátzcuaro.<sup>11</sup>

The "Relaciones geográficas," written about 1580,  
 refer almost entirely to houses with adobe walls  
 and straw roofs, adding that they often are small  
 and of little shelter. In the valley of the Río  
 Balsas, houses of *bajareque* (poles or canes inter-  
 woven and plastered with clay) are described  
 but this type is not referred to in *tierra fría*.  
 Sahagún remarks: "Sus casas eran lindas, aunque  
 todas ellas de paja."<sup>12</sup>

In Gilberti, reference is also made to adobe  
 (iaúrukata), stone (tsintsicata), and wood ("tsir-  
 incata, *hacer casas de caña o palos*"; "tsirindacata,  
*casa así hecha*"). In addition to "quahta, *casa*"  
 (today *k'uta'*, in Angahuan), Gilberti gives "*casa*  
*pajiza*, *quaqua*, *acarutaqua*, *acxcata*."

The plates of the "Relación de Michoacán" show  
 that houses usually had a rectangular floor plan  
 or, perhaps, sometimes a round floor plan (fig. 19,  
*j, k; m* is described in the text as a provisional

<sup>9</sup> Relaciones geográficas de Michoacán, unpublished. Copy in the National Museum of Mexico.

<sup>10</sup> F. Maturino Gilberti. Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacán, México, 1859.

<sup>11</sup> Relación de las ceremonias y ritos y población y gobernanza de los indios de la provincia de Michoacán. Morelia, 1903.

<sup>12</sup> Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España. T. 3, p. 135. Mexico, 1935.

[P. 346]

- 243 the two centers of medium altitude maize (Mexican Pyramidal and Mexican Narrow Ear), the Tarascan area has received a mixture of both. Mountain Yellow, often diluted with strains of Pyramidal, is found in the higher mountain slopes in the Sierra. Other varieties, cultivated for special purposes (green corn, sweet corn) are also found in modern Tarascan agriculture. Popcorn, however, one of the oldest maizes in Mexico, is significantly absent.

*The field corns.*—Economically the most important maize modernly grown by Tarascans is the field varieties, cultivated usually in the level lands and on lower slopes. Morphologically, this maize is similar to Mexican Pyramidal, but with pronounced denting of the seeds, little or no pointing, and medium row number (14–18). In all probability this type represents a mixture of western and eastern corns, with characteristics of the latter being dominant. In the Sierra field corn is predominantly white and is grown "*de humedad*," i. e. it is planted in the moist t'upuri soils in the dry season (March or April). For this reason it is called *blanco marceño*. In the lower areas surrounding the Sierra (e. g. the Lake district and La Cañada) field corn is morphologically similar to that of the Sierra, but is predominantly yellow and grown "*de temporal*," i. e. planted in the clayey *caránda* soils immediately after the first summer rains (late May or early June). The planting of a few grains of red maize (óóú) with the field corns (both *humedad* and *temporal*) is a common practice in many Tarascan pueblos.<sup>23</sup> Many consider the red as "father" of all maize, and as a protector of field corn from disease, storms, and drought.

Traces of western low-row number in field maize are found scattered throughout the Sierra, where such corn is known as *maíz de ocho*, although the row count varies between 8 and 10. In many pueblos it was stated that *maíz de ocho* was grown more extensively in past years, especially by the

ber (8–14). Kernels wide, unpointed, slight to no dent. Color pervallingly white. Plants tall, slender; slight to high intervarinal coloring. Tassel with many branches, long and wiry. (3) Mountain Yellow. Ears and kernels small, somewhat compressed. Ears enlarged at base with irregular rowing there. Color bright yellow.

<sup>23</sup> This practice was encountered in the following Sierra towns: Comake, Nurio, Urapiche, Pomacurán, Charán, Charandáscu, Pichitaro. In La Cañada: Tanaquillo, Carapan. The practice was denied in the Lake Pátzcuaro pueblos. In Nurio 1 grain of red is planted with 1,000 grains of white. Many former Tarascan towns (now mestizo) follow the custom: Tancitaro, Apo, etc. The practice may extend far beyond the present bounds of Tarascan speech.

[P. 71b]

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large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

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The market (*uasájpikuaru*, or "the place where people sit").—Sunday is the most important market day for the Tarascans.<sup>122</sup> Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.<sup>123</sup> A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.<sup>124</sup> Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongaricuaru, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Charán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text Continues Top of P. 73a—Analysis]

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<sup>122</sup> An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

<sup>123</sup> Formerly Puritán was one of the largest *tierra caliente*—*tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ended most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fiesta markets are still held in Puritán however.

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<sup>124</sup> Within the last 5 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden horses or carts to market. Since 1943 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Elveto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

- 186 seem to indicate that the community, largely within itself, constitutes a breeding population. Relatively few outsiders come in. Furthermore, the observer's impression is that the question of ethnic origin was not one vital to relations between members of the community. Recognition is given to individuals of varying status, but no evident biological differences were observed between individuals of the highest and the lowest status.
- 184 So far as participation in the culture is concerned, both extremes share the same understandings and values, and those at the lowest extreme are
- 186 prevented from fully participating only by economic handicaps.

It is recognized by members of the community that some of their activities are akin to those of the city dweller, and pride is taken in these "modernizations." In some of their traditions, however, the ties are with the more isolated Indian communities. There is no apology for what is more Indian in Paracho although informants did comment on the backwardness of some of the "small Indian places." It can be said in general, however, that the dichotomy between Mestizo and Indian reported as extant in other Latin American communities does not exist in Paracho; there is neither stigma attached to being Indian nor prestige conferred for being Mestizo. The town is culturally homogeneous, and the modifications in the way of life are recognized as potentially applying to all within the community rather than characterizing any particular segment of the population. The distinctions made by the respondents concerning the ethnic origin of their parents therefore may be taken to indicate the children's estimation of their parents' participation in the overall cultural mestization of the town.

- 186 *Summary:* — First, in the community studied, asking about "race" would not be expected to be useful in distinguishing physical types or subgroups within the population because the people do not distinguish each other in such biological terms. Second, it is significant that where children say that their parents are of different ethnic origin more children regard their fathers as Mestizos, their mothers as Indians. Third, younger segments of the population report approximately similar numbers of Mestizo and Indian parents, while older respondents consistently report more parents to be Indian than Mestizo. Fourth, informants' explanations for this or that ethnic categorization are largely based upon birthplace, with linguistic criteria second in importance. Fifth, in considering place of birth and "race" of parents a slight tendency exists to report more parents among individuals who were not native to Paracho to be Mestizo than for Paracho-born parents. Finally, the impression of homogeneity within the community lends additional support to the conclusion that ethnic identification in Paracho is based upon cultural considerations.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943  
NU34 Tarasco NU34  
Sierra Tarascans

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*América Indígena*

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This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than minimum requirements of vitamins A and B<sub>1</sub>, slightly less than minimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vitamin B<sub>2</sub>, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B<sub>1</sub>, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B<sub>2</sub> is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B<sub>1</sub> intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

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ment of Agriculture Circular N° 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, *Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities*, United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, *Vitamin of Foods*, United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borscock, *Vitamins*, Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, *The Vitamin B Content of Foods*, United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin N° 707, 1939; and Fixen and Roscoe, *Table of Vitamin Contents*, Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).